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THE

RUSSIAN AGENTS IN INDIA

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TRAVELLER FROM THE EAST.

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"The policy of Russia is based upon the certainty of spoiling England of her Indian dominion."—*Sir John McNeill.*

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THE RUSSIAN AGENTS IN INDIA.

I.

When people see and acknowledge their own faults and imperfections, they have already made a first step to improve their condition. It must be honestly confessed that, the Russian politicians had constantly beaten their Western brethern in diplomacy; and that this advantage they owe to their knowledge of public opinion in Europe, together with the spirit of its rulers, and to the sagacious perception of the moral life, pervading the Western nations. We always reason and act within the sphere of our intelligence, passions and tastes. No one dares to soar higher even on the wings of poetical fancy, but within the circle of some imaginable notions. Such knowledge, such actions. *En masse* men always have what they deserve. The select facts *ad libitum*, to our liking, or exceptional facts, taken by chance, or at random, misconstrue every matter, and when acted upon never fail to produce a quite contrary effect to our wishes. There are great differences and infinite degrees in the conception of truth, and a little, or false information may be worse than complete ignorance.

The Russian diplomatists know the principal languages and literatures of Europe, the politics

of the leading countries, their respective tendencies and reciprocal jealousies. They are assisted by the moral light, viz. the press and general freedom, by their intimate connections with the higher classes of society; lastly, they employ everywhere secret intrigues, bribery, and spies. The English and French diplomatists, with reference to Russia, are quite deficient as to all these means. So, their natural enemy can play with them, from his *dark empire*, screened before their eyes, whilst he can see *clear enough, as by day-light*, every thing that passes in Western Europe. That is the mystery of his gain. By the superiority of a special knowledge, he invariably outwitted his antagonists.

At any rate, this is not "fair play." Let us put ourselves on an equal footing; let us know our adversary, as well as he knows us, and the result of the contest will be never doubtful. The imperfect, or entirely erroneous notions about Russia, extended throughout the world, chiefly by her own agents, had efficaciously conspired against Europe till our days; in fact they are the most faithful and powerful allies of the Muscovite power, the soul of its aggrandisement. Deprive it of that invisible pillar, and it will crumble to dust.

Without this remedy, Alexander II. is sure to make greater progress in the execution of the plans of Peter the Great than all his predecessors: he will reap what they have sown. He got immense benefits even out of his disasters in the Crimea; like

Alexander I. after the loss of two campaigns in 1806 and 1807, by the treaties of Tilsitz and Erfurt. In case of the failure with a sharp weapon to forward its plans, the Northern court, being the most perverse and unscrupulous diplomatic gambler, resumes invariably that favourite and blandishing play. It did win a great deal by the conferences of Vienna, and still more by the lenient treaty, signed in Paris, which served to embolden its diplomacy, and put the game into its hands.

Among the three leading powers of Europe, viz. England, France and Russia, the latter is the only one at present, which has a free choice of her alliance between the two former, who are rivals and hostile to each other. However, having secured already to herself great benefits from her long alliance with Great Britain, and seeing no prospect of any assistance from the same quarter to forward her ulterior *maritime* designs, so contrary to the views of English policy; and prompted by her paramount interests, she is decided to go on even single-handed in her traditional line of politics, or to look for support from the secular rival of England, and particularly from the ambitious nephew of the captive of St. Helena. In this manner Great Britain above all is exposed to the implacable and mortal vengeance of the Muscovite cabinet, the latter being convinced that the former power was the soul of the last war in the Crimea, and will remain for ever the main obstacle to the establishment of a Russian powerful navy;

which is the question of life or death to the dynasty of Romanoff. We will prove it shortly.

By the hostility of England with France, Russia had been introduced into the politics of Western Europe, and by adhering to one or to the other power, and sometimes with their mutual consent, she was permitted to grow, at the expense of all the neighbouring countries, in Europe and Asia. Now the ambitious views of the Tsar, are absolute consequences of his situation. Possessing the largest territory in the world, he is compelled to contrive, by all possible means, to surpass the other states in every material respect. Having accumulated so many territories, he wants to possess much water as well. After being once a fortunate rival to the greatest continental power, he got a sanguine tendency and desire to dispossess the first maritime power. The conqueror of so many different races, he wants to give employment to them. He must have not only the largest army, but the mightiest navy and absolute dominion over the seas,—he must conquer the largest revenue for himself, and that by the most extensive commerce, for his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. There is no *mezzo-termine* left to him.

Necessity goes a great length. Some "select" people would die from distress and melancholy, were they unable to feast a host of strangers daily at their table. Necessity is peremptorily a question of our position in human society. Almost everybody looks

on the world and acts, according to the ground he occupies. Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and any of the "Friends," situated as the Tsar, would fill the world with constant alarm, just out of necessity to exist. The form implies the nature of the thing. The monster stature produces the monstrous deeds. No one is perplexed to define why the wolf, fox, and tiger are carnivorous and rapacious. The very immensity of the "Northern colossus" puts him under the pinch of pressing necessity for extraordinary space, gestures, exercises, and for a gluttonous and provoking appetite, in order to live and grow.

Thus, in Russia, the ambition became general; it renders men quite furious, and stifles in them all other human feelings. It must be fed without interruption. It has no peculiar seat, being naturally boisterous, like the waves of the ocean; from the Tsar it is extended to a "*rab*" (the meanest slave), and *vice versâ*. Upon the bloody altar, not only ministers and generals are sacrificed, but the sovereigns themselves are obliged to lay down their heads, if they cease to be the very brain of ambition, the real centre of the empire.

Besides the rivalry of England with France, which first advanced the plans of the Northern despot, a strong opinion, assiduously inculcated among the maxims of the European monarchies, namely, that Russia is the best remedy against the spirit of Revolution, is particularly favourable to her views. Fear of losing their own existence,

whispers often to the ambitious states and dynasties the good counsel to abandon voluntarily their too sanguine projects. Russia has no such fear; she is in an exceptional position to that rule, affecting more or less all other powers. The Muscovite emperor has learned beforehand, that though perchance vanquished, he has not to lose any of the conquered or stolen territories, which belong to his neighbours. He has made a discovery that, though vanquished, he, *alone* in the world, has the privilege not to pay any indemnity, for the expenses of the war to the conquerors.

Now, why are these extraordinary favours granted to Russia? Because, with her actual complexion and state, she is represented to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of civilised Europe; and because, between the two "inevitable evils" (as it is wrongly estimated), viz.: between the Revolution and the Muscovite ambition, the latter is preferred, as the most powerful element to crush the former. The very idea of saving civilisation by the aid of barbarians looks ominous.

I repeat that this situation is very wrongly estimated; for, on the contrary, the policy of Tsarskoïe-Siello is the principal source of all violent revolutions. As it marched in front of the most determined league of despotism, called afterwards the "Holy Alliance," it had challenged the world to the war of opinion and principles. The first dismemberment of Poland in 1772, announced to the

astonished world the existence of a League, unprecedented in the annals of history. This event and the subsequent partitions of that constitutional kingdom, contributed first to the outbreak, and then, from an apprehension of undergoing the same fate, to the exasperation of the French Revolution, by way of retribution and reprisals, unprecedented also in the history of mankind. Russia protected order and peace in Poland, Turkey, Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Finland, Livonia, in the Crimea, and so forth;—but it was the influence upon, or rather the possession of, these countries, and not their tranquillity, and that of Europe, that was ardently desired by the Court of St. Petersburg. It really wanted to embroil the world in everlasting troubles—good opportunity for fishing. In this manner, having acquired a mighty power among the disunited Western States, the Tsar, who had exercised a fatal influence over the interior measures of all continental governments, did not allow them to make the slightest concessions to the local public opinion, and by encouraging them to the system of retrogression, he excited in France, Italy, Germany, and other states, the spirit of violent reaction among the masses of the people. Were Louis Philippe, the king of Naples, the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and all the petty German princes not countenanced by Nicholas, they would be obliged to render the revolution unnecessary, by progressive concessions, like as in England, and without any com-

motion assure the prosperity and the peace of the people. Russia, in reference to revolution is literally like a quack-doctor towards his patients, who knows how to increase and to protract their disease for the benefit of his purse.

At length the most unruly ambition of the Tsar with regard to Turkey, aroused the English Ministry, who persuaded Napoleon III. to join their expedition. But at the same time, in her tender discretion and indulgence towards Russia during the Crimean war, England, faithful to her traditional policy, may be represented with only clenched fists, engaged in a perilous duel with the Northern despot, armed to his very teeth. Generosity is the most offensive to a real enemy, and is always fatal to its author. In return for it, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg uses all sorts of weapons to humble England, upon the vast field of diplomacy.

Really, the last great rebellion of the Sepoys in the principality of Bengal, was expected by the Russians to break out in the course of the Crimean war. Then, some rumours of the same origin were spread in higher circles, about approaching dangers to England, at the time of the Conferences at Paris. But no one believed them, and the least so Lord Clarendon and Lord Cowley. Soon, during the Indian war, the Russian tourists manifested an unbounded joy, and at the watering places drank with enthusiasm a toast: "The Emperor of Mogul for ever!"

Let us investigate how far the diplomacy of Tsarskoïe-Siello contributed to raise that rebellion. We do not mean to lessen the causes of discontent, which were spread in those regions, by the misrule of the East-Indian Company. But such a simultaneous rising, a fire so kindled at once, betrays *primâ facie* some underhand dealings of a foreign agency. To investigate the truth, let us make a general survey of the Muscovite intrigues and their progress in the East.

II.

The campaigns of Russia in the early part of the last century against Turkey and Persia, proved to be a complete failure: Poland was in her way! Suffice to quote a few facts to establish a conviction that, without progressive partition of the Polish kingdom, the Tsar could not advance to the East by any means. When Peter the Great mounted the throne Russia had no commercial port, except Archangel. In the disastrous campaign on the Pruth, the Tsar, his consort, and the starving Russian army, were saved by the bribery of the Turkish general in chief, and the treaty of Falksen in 1711. It stipulated the surrender of Taganrog and Asoph, and annihilated the commercial projects of Peter I. on that sea. After the following unsuccessful struggles, the Court of St. Petersburg, by the treaty of Belgrade, in 1739, was engaged again to maintain no navy on the sea of Asoph. The de-

feat of the Muscovite attempt on Khiva, had also shut them out from the countries situated in the east of the Caspian, and the projects of Russia in reference to Persia were necessarily for a time abandoned.

The Government of Catherine II. clearly saw the impossibility of pushing its conquests in the West and the East, as long as Poland, that bulwark of Europe and Asia, was independent. She had therefore actively interfered in the internal affairs of the Poles, by means of her learned agents calumniated them throughout Europe, placed at Warsaw a minion of her own upon the throne, and augmented incessantly her army in that kingdom, pretending to "uphold the freedom." It was a violation of all engagements with the Porte, by which she promised never to cross the Polish frontiers. The Turks saw the future danger of aggression to themselves, resolved to assist their neighbours, and declared war againt the Empress in the year 1769.

In this emergency the Court of St. Petersburg hastened to embrace the project of Prussia, and to entangle Austria in the partition of Poland, which took place for the first time in 1772. Thus, by the acquisition of the Polish south-eastern provinces, contiguous to the Black Sea, Catherine II. pressed the Porte so much, that the latter was obliged to terminate the war by the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardgi, in 1774. It secured to Russia the free navigation of the Euxine on all the Ottoman seas,

and acquired the long-coveted Asoph and Taganrog, with Kertch and Kiburn. Soon after (about 1781) the Christian Princes of Georgia, Immeritia, and Mingrelia, were urged to renounce their ancient allegiance to Persia and Turkey, and to seek protection of the "Christian empress." Two years later (1783) the Russian army entered the Crimea, which was annexed to the Imperial crown, without a war. At last the plan of dismembering Turkey altogether, concocted by the cabinet of St. Petersburg with that of Vienna, roused the jealousy of other powers; and although, in 1787, England and France, with Prussia and Sweden, made a hostile move, the treaty of Yassy, in 1792, advanced the Muscovite frontier to the mouth of the Dniester.

Such were the consequences of the first dismemberment of Poland, and after the second and the third one (in 1792 and 1795), which completely effaced that kingdom from the map of Europe, the unmuzzled ambition of Russia knew no bounds. Immediately the Muscovite intrigues began in Bessarabia, Servia, Moldavia and Wallachia, to the mouth of the Danube. In the year 1800 the Tsar incorporated Georgia with the empire, proclaiming by his ukase that it was absolutely necessary to cut short the troubles in that country. The same reason has been invariably asserted for the successive partitions of Poland. Yet the world instantly perceived, that, without Poland, there was no frontier between Russia and Western Europe: and England will

find out that, without Poland, neither is there any boundary between Southern Asia and Russia.

The subsequent views, which induced the Muscovite Government to seek with unwearied perseverance a position in Asia and beyond the Caucasus; many costly expeditions to those regions; the resolution to purchase the sovereignty of Georgia and Immeritia at the price of large donations to many chieftains; military establishments on the southern shores of the Caspian; the schemes to maintain and to improve, at an immense sacrifice of blood and treasure, the position Russia had obtained in the Caucasus and beyond it, must have been directed to some ultimate end, far more important than the bare possession of provinces, which would have only been costly and burdensome appendages to the empire. These acquisitions were really valued only inasmuch as they would afford facilities for arriving at the Indies, which would remunerate for all that might be expended in attaining it. The anxiety appeared so great, that the general cry at St. Petersburg, on this score, pitied the Emperor, "that he had not sufficiently clever and bold men for such an easy enterprise."

Since the plans of the expedition to the East Indies, executed by the French engineers, were seized by the Russians, during the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, the court of Tsarskoie-Siello never lost sight of the advantages of disturbing the British possessions in these regions, by practical means. It

appears that Napoleon I. was the only man in France, who could conceive the project of the invasion of England by the East Indies; but even that extraordinary warrior, after the failure of his expedition to Egypt, had no thought of attempting it, without the co-operation of Russia, whereas the Muscovite court alone is in a position to prepare the way for such an invasion, even single-handed.

Before the campaign of 1812, Napoleon sent M. Gardanne, *via* Moscow, to Persia, under the pretext of a scientific excursion; but in reality for the discovery of the best road to India by land. During his disastrous retreat, all the maps, accounts and notes on the subject were seized by the Russians, in two waggons, belonging to the staff of the French Emperor. Alexander took advantage of it. By using alternately threats and flattery, he compelled the French officers, who accompained M. Gardanne, to enter his army. Some of them were promoted afterwards to the rank of colonels and generals, for their services. In conformity with the report of M. Gardanne, Napoleon planned the whole expedition to India by stages, from one point to another, for an army of 70,000 men, composed of French and Russians. This was intended to take place immediately after the anticipated treaty at Moscow. The army, it was calculated, would arrive at its destination in 119 days. The principal stages were: Taganrog, Pialusbarskaia, Tsaritzin, Astrakhan, Astrabad to the Indus.

From Astrabad to the Indus Napoleon computed 45 days' journey to the army of the expedition.

Elated by this discovery, Alexander pushed his conquests in Asia with redoubled vigour. He was encouraged to undertake that task by his fortunate situation in the West. After the last general war, the cabinet of St. Petersburg considered its conquests in Europe, for some time, at an end, its influence and supremacy there being firmly established. At the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, Russia ruled over the whole of Europe, and decided everything in the tone of a dictator. France, being vanquished, was divested of all her conquests and humbled to the extreme. England restored several foreign colonies in both hemispheres; but Russia restored nothing, and even got very valuable new possession. Why did she not give up anything of her robberies and acquired still more? Because she began to swear and to threaten war, while all other states longed for peace. Poland, with the Duchy of Warsaw, Finland, all conquests upon Turkey and Persia were confirmed to her; or annexed to the crown. Feeling secure about the European acquisitions, she had leisure to turn her views towards Asia.

When Napoleon was visibly tottering upon his throne, the tedious war with Persia, began by General Zizianoff, a Georgian by extraction, and continued by General Ritecheff, with variable suc-

cess, was closed by the treaty of Goolistan, in Karabaugh (1814), by which, owing to the dexterity of General Yermolloff, the Governor-General of Georgia, and to the support of Lord Cathcart and Sir Gore Ouseley, ambassador at the Russian court, the Tsar acquired Georgia, Immeritia, Mingrelia, Derbent, Badkoo, and all Persian Daghistan, Sheervan, Shekkee, Ganja, Karabaugh, and parts of Moghan and Talish. Besides, Persia was bound to maintain no navy on the Caspian.

The *Journal of St. Petersburg*, in the year 1817, speaking about the same Yermolloff, as an extraordinary ambassador to the Shah, says: "Besides his general mission to maintain a good understanding between Russia and Persia, he has also private instructions, embracing objects relating to commerce and sciences. Several officers will quit the legation at Ispahan, to proceed to the courts of princes whose states are situated between Persia and the British possessions in the East Indies. These states are more or less towards the south of Russia in Central Asia, and it is therefore wished to establish commercial relations with them." In this way, besides the commerce with China, established many years ago, and in opposition to the competition of England more firmly secured; besides a long range of military colonies, founded and peopled by the Cossacks in the vast steppes of Mongolia, and the posterior occupation of the country beyond the Amour, the Emperor of Russia, with still higher

objects in view, entered into new stipulations with the states in the centre of Asia, with Khiva, Bokhara, Caboul, Thibet, and so forth, where he either renewed, or began to establish his relations.

The establishment of Russian dominion south of the Caucasus, became a great danger both to Persia and to Asiatic Turkey; and an imminent peril to the Circassians, who found their liberty on the eve of jeopardy. These gallant highlanders were the first to fly to arms. The invaders settled at the foot of the Caucasus, and hardly ventured beyond their gates without strong military escorts. The borders of the Black Sea, from the frontiers of Mingrelia to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, were in revolt, and the Western Circassians during forty years never laid down their arms. For some years General Yermolloff employed his army, his treasures, and all the arts of seductive policy to terminate this contest. In fact, he was formally proclaimed in Russia as the only fortunate pacificator of the Caucasus. His successors, Field-Marshal Paskiewich, Generals Faesi, Willamineff, Raiewski, and others, only exasperated the war in this quarter. In the famous letter of Willamineff, written in 1837 to the Circassian chiefs, the Muscovite proclaimed "all the English among the Circassians to be deceivers."

When Yermolloff was dismissed by Nicholas, out of fear, on account of his popularity, I saw various prints, published at Moscow, representing the General in twelve different costumes. One of them resem-

bling that of the First Consul, crossing the Alps; sitting on horseback, and wrapped in a loose *bourka*, surrounded by mountains, and in view of the gigantic Elborus, capped with everlasting snow, he points out with his sabre the future destiny of Russia towards India.

In vain Schamyl displayed his extraordinary heroism. A few years after he was taken prisoner, the Circassians, left to themselves, were completely routed by the Russians, and at this very moment the great wall in that quarter, against the impetuous inroads of Russia to Asia, is overturned. But let us not anticipate events.

The treaty of Goolistan had not defined (on purpose) the line of frontier between the two States so distinctly, as to leave no room to the arbitrary explanation of the stronger party. At the accession of Nicholas, besides the war with the Circassians, the new reign commenced with new acquisitions, first upon Persia and then upon Turkey, by fighting them separately one after the other. The war with the former had originated in a violation of the Persian territory by the Governor-General of Georgia; and Prince Menchikoff, the Extraordinary Ambassador to the State, in answer to all demands for the evacuation of Gokcheh, replied that he had no instructions concerning the matter. Personal insults were used by General Yermolloff to the Prince Royal, and everything was calculated to drive the Shah to extremities. The Persian troops, excited

to enthusiasm by the Moulahs, rushed to arms, and a furious war commenced. The Russian manifestos and their journals, as usual in similar cases, filled the world with denunciations of the aggressions of Persia and the violation of international law. During the negotiation which led to the treaty of Turcomanchai, by which this war was terminated (Feb. 1828), the Russian Cabinet repudiated with disdain all desire of conquest, attributed to it by the foreign press. Nevertheless, the Shah, besides paying to the enemy the full indemnity for the war expenses in cash (a round sum, obtained on the pledge of the crown jewels at St. Petersburg, and which enabled Nicholas to carry on the war with Turkey), was compelled to cede the important and wealthy provinces of Erivan and Abassabad; because, as it was humorously noticed, it was necessary to the future amity and tranquillity of the two States that their common frontier should be distinctly and for ever marked by the Araxes! This sacrifice was immense for Persia; but, abandoned by the English Ministry, who blindly urged her to accept all the provisions of the treaty, she had no choice and submitted. Thus Russia, mistress of the most important part of Armenia, made a positive advance to Central Asia, and was put in a situation to extend her machinations to the shores of the Ganges.

The position she now took in the East was fortified by the progressive humiliation of Turkey. Having excited the revolt in Greece, the Court of

St. Petersburg first offered to aid the Porte in suppressing the rebellion, which the Turks attributed exclusively to her agency. However, Russia saw the advantage, which the popular enthusiasm, in favour of the descendants of Socrates, Miltiades, and Demosthenes, and in support of the Christians against the Mahomedans, spread throughout Europe, could not fail to give her. She wanted then an intervention on behalf of the "revolutionists." She was prevented from doing it alone; but she gained her object at less expense, and canvassed so much that the three Powers concluded the Treaty of London (1827) on behalf of the Greeks. The "untoward" victory of Navarino, and the "liberation" of Greece followed. The real policy of the Tsar's anxiety in the matter was, that this new and feeble state, unable to maintain itself, should become his tool, and in future his prey. Thus weakened by a new dismemberment, Turkey was invaded by the Muscovite army in 1828 and 1829, and by the treaty of Adrianople ceded for ever to her enemy the possession of Achalzic, Poti, Achalkalaka, and Anapa. The Turkish guns ceased to roar on the banks of the Kuban. The new acquisitions, combined with the range of Georgian mountains, became strongholds of Russia in that quarter. After the loss of Daghistan and Sheervan in 1814, Persia could hardly make a diversion, and after her last dismemberment in 1828, in spite of the best intentions, she could never help the Sultan in distress, from the Muscovite aggressions.

With these conquests Russia, extended to the mouth of the Kur, acquired the exclusive navigation of the Caspian. Her merchants go every year to Kuljuk, in the gulf of that sea. Hence they drive their caravans to Khiva and Bokhara, which facilitate their trade with all Toorkistan and the region of the Uzbeks. At this time also, through the Armenians, their recently acquired subjects, they established new and numerous factories at Trebizond, Erzeroom, Mussol, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Bagdad, Ispahan, Samarcand, Belkh, Lahore, Delhi, Calcutta, Surat, Bombay, Madras, &c.

III.

Meantime the Revolution of July (1830) in France, followed by that of September in Belgium, and the similar symptoms manifested in Germany and Italy, surprised Russia, and turned its watchful eye from Asia to Europe. In the same year, on the 29th of November, the Poles began the war of independence, and paralysed completely for some years the plans of the Muscovite Cabinet, with regard to both parts of the world. But when the "Order reigns at Warsaw" was proclaimed, and the affairs of France and Belgium were settled, rather to his satisfaction, Nicholas resumed his Asiatic machinations. Having been dreadfully beaten upon the banks of the Vistula and Niemen, and succeeding only by bribery and intrigues, it was in the midst of peace that he endeavoured to surprise and to cir-

cumvent England. He was intimately persuaded that the exercise of his arts would in a measure, at a certain period, destroy, or dismember the British empire in India.

However the Northern despot is not always sufficiently cautious to hide his clandestine snares: in a paroxysm of fury, like other mortals, he speaks sometimes his mind. Just at the time of the Polish war, fancying its outbreak to be of a foreign origin, the invectives in the *Moscow Gazette*, and the *Journal of Frankfort*, that paid organ of Russia, against the English, were remarkable. The *Moscow Gazette* (December 27, 1830) says as follows:— "The Russian nation is indignant at the clandestine proceedings of England, or rather of her perfidious ministry, in regard to the troubles of Poland; but our turn is coming. We will tear off her mask. We will show the world how a people is really reduced to slavery. You shall soon have an opportunity of judging whether Lord Ponsonby spoke the truth, when he repeated to everybody who would listen to him: 'Russia is no longer of any account: henceforth Poland will prevent her from interfering in the affairs of Europe: her government is quite Asiatic,' &c. How does this Albion, loaded with debt, and now imbued with the most perfidious principles, dare to rouse the Bear (for so they term us), who devoured Napoleon, with the most splendid army that ever invaded her territories, and marched to Paris to revenge his rashness. Wait a little,

our turn must come. *We shall soon have no need to make any treaty with this people but at Calcutta!* Their false policy has done its best. Let them go and make alliances with the African negroes, whom England wishes so well, and for whom she has made Europe her dupe. The barbarians and slaves, as her papers call us, will teach her a lesson. Meanwhile let her go on; it is all we want."

After the close of the Polish war, the secret treaty of Unkar-Skelessee, concluded with the Porte, laid down Turkey at the mercy of Russia. The jealousy of Europe was at length awakened; the treaty had transpired; but England and France protested only against the fraud; while the Russian ukases, issued in different languages, proclaimed the singular moderation and magnanimity of the Tsar throughout Europe and Asia. At the same time the cry in the country was raised again, that the Emperor has no men, properly qualified to help the execution of the projects he had in reference to the East. Such appeared the general impatience on that account.

In fact, the home affairs of the Russian empire are very badly managed. Intelligent, independent, and upright men are avoided. The only requisite for the high offices in that department, is obedience; servile courtiers, ignorant and rapacious military men are preferred: they chiefly compose the home service. It is quite the reverse in foreign affairs. The singular tact and serious information of the Northern

diplomacy is notorious: it has amazingly surprised more than once the Western diplomatists. It has shown, in many instances, great and various learning, careful wariness and foresight. In this department only the studious men of considerable ability are accepted, and most liberally rewarded; no matter what their nationality, religion, or political antecedents, whether they are born Germans, Poles, Swedes, French, Italians, or whether they were formerly "sans-culottes," like Pozzo di Borgo. The geographical study of Asia early occupied their attention. The Russian maps of this part of the world (some unpublished) appear to be the best; but they are not always accessible to foreigners.* Numerous public and private Asiatic institutions were opened, and extensive travels undertaken. We confine ourselves to the quotation of a few names. The celebrated John Potocki and Tymowski, (both Poles,) went to China, Mongolia, and the Caucasus, the immortal Klaproth to the same, and many other countries. Nazaroff to Toorkistan; Muravieff to Khiva; Mourkroft to Khoulan, Balk, &c.; Meyendorff to Bokhara; Bitchourine, Igoumenoff, Poutimsteff, and others to India; Senkowski (a Pole) to Syria and Egypt; whilst Kotzebue and others made discoveries on the great Ocean. Moreover,

* Arrowsmith, the celebrated English geographer, not knowing the Russian language, copied some of them, and made several horrid blunders, (Klaproth calls him ignorant on that score,) which were faithfully repeated by the German and French geographers.

everything that has been done, or is doing in Asia, by other nations, attracted the vigilance of the Muscovite diplomacy. But Nicholas not always relied on the Count Nesselrode; he often took advice of the panslavist Poles, Prince Lubecki and Count Grabowski, who became his favourites.

In 1824, a great number of students from Lithuania, and particularly from the school and University of Vilna, were transported to the depth of Russia. They were condemned, by an express ukase, "as the conspirators, who planned the change of the government, and the overthrow of the reigning dynasty." Some of them appeared to be very clever: they had learned in exile several Asiatic languages; and although there exist different chairs in the Universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow for the Oriental languages, not a single man among the favoured Russian pupils, happened to be so proficient in these studies as the exiled Poles. How unbounded the ambition of Nicholas must have been, when for its sake he pardoned the Poles, "who conspired against his dynasty,"—if he really believed them to be such characters. On the representation of Prince Lubecki and Count Grabowski, he loaded some of them with honours and magnificent presents, in order to employ their ability, for various missions in the East.

Thus, the learned Kowalewski, an accomplished student from the University of Vilna, was repeatedly sent to China; the first time as the principal secre-

tary attached to an extraordinary mission to the Celestial empire, and then alone with some assistants, chosen by himself. After his return from this excursion, he intended to publish the result of his travels; but the Government took his most important manuscripts for its exclusive information. (It is the same gentleman who has had to deplore lately the loss of his other valuable manuscripts, by the pillage of Count Zamoyski's palace at Warsaw, by the order of General Berg.) The hopeful students of the University of Vilna, from the same category of "conspirators," M. Wiernikowski, M. Heidatel, M. Suzin, and a few others, were dispatched to Bokhara, Caboul, Herat, Candahar, &c. A youth from an inferior school of Vilna, M. Witkiewicz, who, in 1824, was only twelve years old, when, loaded with heavy chains, (which rendered him lame for life,) he was transported to the depth of the empire, addicted himself to the study of the Oriental languages. He was much caressed, first, by the Governor-General of Orenbourg, M. Perowsky, and then by the Emperor himself dispatched to Bokhara, Caboul and further on. Meantime the Emperor discovered his double dealings, and as the intelligence of the murder of the celebrated English traveller, Sir Alexander Burnes, at Herat, published in the foreign papers, was attributed to Witkiewicz, who knew all its circumstances, he has been secretly murdered.* (He was reported by

* He was an intimate friend of Sir A. Burnes, who speaks

the *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, to have committed suicide.) Besides, some other Poles, studying in the capital of Lithuania, who, after the ruin of the University of Vilna, went voluntarily to the East, were employed by the Government as consuls and dragomans in different parts of Asia.

The emissaries sent to travel in Central Asia, and especially to the East Indies, received from the department of foreign affairs elaborate instructions, revised by the Emperor himself. They were commissioned to mark the current of rivers, the position of the principal towns and villages, the political divisions and classification of the inhabitants, on the road towards the Indus and the Ganges. They had to study in India itself the bias of local Governments, and the degree of confidence reposed in them by the people; to remark all discontents and party divisions, which the authorities encounter, to observe all the international movements and tendencies of different tribes and castes; and particularly to spread amongst them the glory, power and magnanimity of the Tsar, to the prejudice of their present rulers; lastly, to establish an extensive system of espionage at different stations. The active and enterprising Emperor of Russia, as a new power in the world, knew that, in this way only, he could take advan-

of him very highly. The name only is wrongly spelled Wilkiewitch, or Vicovich. See "Caboul, by the late Lieut.-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes."—London, 1842, p. 261 and 262. This short notice opens a wide field to many conjectures.

tage of propitious circumstances to avoid political blunders; while his adversaries, reposing upon their ancient laurels, opposed but slightly these circumstances, considerately erected by himself. He knew that the Indian empire had been properly termed, an "empire of opinion." He knew how much his seizure of the Vixen in the port of Sondjouk-kalé, the victories of Russia in Turkey and Persia, the alienation of the court of Teheran from the English, the repeated fighting at the walls of Herat, the war of Great Britain with China, chiefly excited by the court of St. Petersburg, and the more so the war of the English with the Affghans, excited also by her intrigues, and the frightful disasters at Caboul, added to this also her successful machinations in America, hostile to the same power, and in the last Indian rebellion—how all these events acted on that opinion in Asia, Europe and America.

An extraordinary event contributed much to increase the high opinion, entertained about the "Northern colossus" in the world. The cabinet of St. Petersburg, not satisfied to excite the Pasha of Egypt against his sovereign, and then to dismember Turkey again by the Brunnow treaty of July 1840, having afterwards obtained singular merit with the European cabinets "for suppressing the European revolution in 1848 and 1849, by his campaign in Hungary," was tempted to look for a substantial reward at Constantinople, when England and France were strongly disunited. The Western

Powers, notwithstanding, resisted sword in hand. The Russians boast themselves that they have vanquished the two greatest warriors in modern times: Charles XII. and Napoleon I., though at first they were beaten for a considerable time. At present, after the last war in the Crimea, which they call a happy event for their glory, they have something more to boast of. In fact, looking from a moral point of view, Russia has very much gained at home and abroad, by being able to protract a resistance for about two years, against two most powerful Western States (including Turkey and Sardinia,) combined together against her for the first time. Nay, as she lost none of her conquests, and did not pay any indemnity, it is evident that no one else but the Tsar was the conqueror in that contest. They blazed even throughout Asia, that the "peace at Paris was hastily concluded; because the Allies had wisely foreseen the impossibility of taking the northern fortress of Sevastopol, whereas the Russians threatened Erzeroom by the occupation of Kars, defended by the English general Williams, and took him prisoner with his staff and Turkish garrison." The simple people in all Asia assume this version to be correct to the letter.

But there happened also something very important during the above expedition. The Anglo-French alliance by neglecting Poland, provided a new and the best opportunity for Russia to tarnish the Polish nationality; for the youth of that country,

incorporated in the Muscovite army, not only practically learned to die for the ambition and safety of the Northern empire, but they began to accustom themselves to fight against the English and French! Suffice to say that in his speech at Warsaw, soon after that war, the Emperor Alexander II. and his Lieutenant in Poland, the late Prince Gortchakoff, thought proper to praise the Poles on that head, with much emphasis. This state of things, and still more the present indifference of the English and French cabinets in reference to the Polish insurrection, are highly calculated to work out a complete revulsion of feeling in the Polish hearts, and perhaps to awake in their bosom, against the Western States, a hatred, destined to accomplish what was foretold by Napoleon I.: "If the Tsar succeeds in incorporating Poland with Russia, that is to say, in perfectly reconciling the Poles to the Russian Government, and not merely subduing the country, he has gained the greatest step towards the invasion of Europe and subduing India."

It is not only in Asia that the British Colonial Empire is an "empire of opinion." The greatest renown and the public opinion govern the whole world with an absolute sway. Now, what is the public opinion in Europe and Asia? Who is reputed as the strongest amongst the powers of the world? Poland, Hungary, a great part of Germany, Bohemia, Italy, Finland, Scandinavia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, even Turkey and Persia,

value the Western civilisation and power mostly as a protection against the despotism of Russia; and when it is found out to be an imaginary one they do not care much about its preservation. Russia is believed by the mass of the peoples to be the strongest power in Europe, for they clearly see that everybody fears or flatters her, and that she invariably maintained her ground, when France and England protested and remonstrated. Lately they saw that even when they made a joint war, including the coalition of four states against that empire, they seemed to acknowledge they were not a match for the Muscovite despot.

Now, as to the Asiatic people, and particularly the Indians, they have quite different feelings from the Europeans. Wherever they are oppressed and discontented (and where are they not?) they wish anything for a change; and as their respect and awe of the British power is fast giving way, and in the same proportion that of the "white Tsar" is growing in a fearful manner, they are not afraid of the Russians; on the contrary, they expect them as their presumed liberators. Moreover, it would be superfluous to argue that that hostile feeling in the whole world towards this country is shared by different states, by many foreign bankers, the wholesale merchants and speculators in Asia, America, and Europe, who expect to gain immensely upon the anticipated ruin of the English dominion in India, and that they ardently desire to see the catastrophe accomplished.

Upon the whole, it appears from the above remarks that I do not chiefly attribute either to the Russian clever agents, nor to the deep-laid schemes of their department, so much success. Their politics had been early promoted in Europe and Asia by the ruinous system of the first-rate cabinets, and by the universal ignorance which made other Powers the chief instruments of the aggrandisement of Russia. In the course of events she only knew how to make a move, and how to take advantage of the situation created to her by other states. Her influence extended everywhere in the affairs of Europe, and was smoothly followed as a matter of course by her conquests in this part of the world. Her views of aggrandisement were fully commensurate to the influence she had obtained. It is like a cause and its effect, first the moral power and then the material encroachments. Now the same is tried in Asia.

In a certain respect it is the history of every ambitious power, until it arrives at its zenith and begins to decline. An adequate quantum of the moral and material force, possessed by any Power, was always the accurate measure and barometer of actions and aggressions abroad. Backed by the criminal blunders of other cabinets, how powerful already is the Tsar of all the Russias, and what is he unable to undertake? Surely Russia will do what she only can do clandestinely, or openly with impunity, to the injury of her natural and mighty enemies, who, nevertheless,

out of mutual jealousy, persist in being her unnatural allies.

This empire, which now holds such an influence in the world, about two centuries ago was unknown amongst the states of Europe. In ancient times the "Barbaræ gentes" were despised and almost ignored by the refined Romans; while the former greedily busied themselves about the internal state of the Roman empire. The result is known: they conquered Rome!

Query: How has Russia grown so stout without bursting? We answer: by a vast subscription of faults, which began at Astrakhan, Kazan, Constantinople, and in the cabinet of Warsaw; and have no end at Berlin, Vienna, and the Tuileries, and particularly at St. James' Court.

IV.

Hitherto I have named but a few individuals, who were or are the agents of Russia throughout Asia, and there is a host of them quite unknown to me. The public opinion in different idioms, by the tongue of millions, wonderfully favour these Muscovite machinations, and may be called their gigantic and honorary, or unpaid agent. But, when I say millions of people, it may appear something vague and indeterminate. However, apart from all that, there is a special nation, containing about eight millions of souls, who all, without exception, are the

real and active, some wilful, and the largest majority unconscious agents of Russia in Turkey and Persia, in the centre of Asia, in India itself, and throughout the world. I am speaking of the Armenians.

It is a very striking coincidence in the history of mankind, that the most religious, moral, peaceful, and industrious people, linger to be under the sway of the godless chief of all despots, the focus of war, destruction, falsehood, and extravagance. About a century ago, the Armenians, cruelly oppressed by the Persians and Turks, considered the coming dominion of the "Christian Russia" over them, as a blessed deliverance, and they addressed daily their fervent prayers to the Almighty to that effect. During the patriarchate of Ephrem, the English Protestant missionaries from India, proposed to him a certain union with their Church, and the establishment of the Armenian schools in the East Indies and elsewhere, under the protection of Great Britain and the United States of America. The proposition was rejected; and though an Armenian College with a printing office were established about this time at Calcutta, and a printing house at Madras, the religious chiefs of Armenia expected to see the prosperity of their country only in its union with Russia.

Since the election of the "Universal Patriarch," or "Catholicos," was carried by the influence of the Tsar, the Russian protection, through his *protegé*, was spread over all Christians, who were the sub-

jects of Persia and Turkey. The first Patriarch, who, in 1768, after his election, requested to be acknowledged as such by the Russian monarch, was Lucas. The election of his successor, Lucas also, was ratified in 1798 by the same power. After these two examples, the interference of Russia in the election of "Catholicos" was so commanding, that the Armenian bishop, Prince Joseph, *Argoutinsky* (Dolgorouky), residing in Russia, and very partial to her policy, named Patriarch in 1800, by the Emperor Paul, was gratefully accepted by the nation.* Henceforth the Muscovite nomination has been blindly followed by the approbation of the monarchs of Persia and Turkey, who did not understand the political trick of the transaction. The Patriarchs, Daniel (1802-1809), and Ephrem (1809-1831), were elected entirely under the influence of the Russian cabinet, and they helped, by secret means, to push its conquests in Persia and Turkey, still more vigorously than Argoutinsky.

Meanwhile the cession of the central part of Ar-

* "This family is not to be confounded with the Russian house of princes Dolgorouky, sprung from Rurik. Joseph Argoutinsky, an Armenian by birth and Armenian Patriarch, *has rendered famous services to Russia beyond the Caucasus.* The name of Argoutinsky in the Armenian language, means the same as in the Russian Dolgorouky, viz. long-arm. They pretend to descend from Artaxerxes *Longimanus*, the long-arm, King of Persia." See: "On the principal families of Russia, by Prince Paul Dolgorouky," (translated.) London, 1858, Ridgway.

menia, by Persia to Russia, in the treaty of Turcomanchai (1828), forcibly insisted upon by unpardonable menace of the English ministry towards the court of Teheran, had surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the Tsar; for by this transaction he took possession of a small village a few miles distant from Erivan, called Edschmiazin, which is the spiritual capital of that important nation.

Before the establishment of the Russian dominion south of the Caucasus, the Mahometans everywhere had been the rulers, and the Christians their subjects. Now the thing is reversed. The Christians, namely the Armenians, became of course the favoured people, and domineered over their former masters with triumph and insolence, scoffed at their religious rites, and frequently interrupted their sacred ceremonies. More than once the Mussulmans saw a mosque converted into a stable, and another into a tavern, to the unbounded mirth of the Christians. In a word, the conquests of the Tsar in these regions were considered mostly as the conquests of the Armenians. The new invaders had a holiday welcome. One circumstance has still more rendered the Russian name popular among the people.

M. Greeboiedoff, sent to Teheran as ambassador to carry into effect some articles of the treaty, concluded at Turcomanchai, respecting the Armenian and Georgian former subjects of Persia, who, it was specified, should return to their country, acted as the

representative of a haughty victor, who had dictated the peace, and whose new subjects were to be controlled in the country, on which it has been imposed. In the course of his journey to the Persian capital he called all the Armenians he could find, without troubling himself to inquire very scrupulously, whether they were persons to whom the provisions of the treaty applied. At Casbine he carried his interference so far as to punish a Mahometan, on the groundless charge that he had been accessory to another person purchasing an Armenian slave. At Teheran, shortly after his official audience at the Court, he grew still more violent about some Armenian women, who were forcibly driven to his residence. The indignation of the populace was stirred up; they collected with threats round the palace of the ambassador. The guard of Cossacks fired upon the populace and killed a few men. This exasperated the mob to the utmost. The Shah sent his son with 2000 troops to the rescue of the Muscovites; nevertheless, M. Greeboiedoff and his suite, to the number of about thirty, were massacred The Shah offered every indemnity to the Emperor of Russia for the offence, in which his government had no share. This murder was industriously proclaimed by the Russian agents in the Caucasian provinces as the martyrdom of a saint, and as a sacrifice upon the altar of the Christian faith; though it was really caused by the harshness, violence and provocation of M. Greeboiedoff himself.

The independent Christians of Armenia, notwithstanding, had reason to complain of the rigour with which the Russian local authorities exacted a strict compliance with their habits, and that their own religion lost its self-reliance, their Patriarch, an Armenian himself, and who had so much power over all the Armenian people at home and abroad, being chiefly elected by the Russian emperor; and that he had no direct correspondence, neither with the Tsar, nor with the ministry and the synod, residing at St. Petersburg, but through the *chancellerie* of the Governor-general of the Caucasus, where every minor clerk could read his important letters, which by their nature required the strictest privacy. These inconveniences were removed as soon as the Prince Woronzoff was named Governor-general of these provinces. Henceforward a direct correspondence of the Patriarch with the Emperor, with all possible precautions as to its secresy, was established; two synods named, one spiritual at Edschmiazin, presided over by the Catholicos, and another secular, under the chairmanship of the Emperor at St. Petersburg, which combined together have to settle the most important questions; every Armenian village must possess at least one, sometimes two, three and four parish ministers, and all the Armenians on the Russian territory were divided into five eparchies or dioceses.

The mode of election of the Catholicos, collected from ancient laws and customs, was carefully pub-

lished in Russia, on the 11th March, 1836. After the decease of the Patriarch, the synod of Edschmiazin transmits the intelligence about it to the ministry at St. Petersburg, and calls upon each of the eparchies, situated in Russia, Persia, Turkey, India, and so forth, to send two deputies, one spiritual and another secular, for a new election to be held at Edschmiazin. After the election they communicate the result of it to the "Patriarch of Rome" (the Pope being considered equal to other Patriarchs), as well as to those of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and to all other Armenian eparchies, situated in foreign countries. In general, forty-five Armenian archbishops, eighty-six bishops, and one hundred and fifty suffragans, residing in different parts of the world, bow down submissive to the elect Catholicos, now a Russian subject, as to the head of their church.

The above law, ostensibly dictated by the spirit of tolerance, came into operation for the first time at the election of Catholicos Narses V. in 1842, just at the time when Nicholas, by the most cruel persecutions, forced four millions of the Polish Unionists to embrace the Russo-Greek creed. On this occasion the elective synod was composed only of 26 persons, both civilians and ecclesiastics, six of whom were archbishops and eight bishops. Narses V, like the majority of his predecessors, was a learned monk; but in the course of time, as a mark of his services rendered to the Tsar, a large cross set with brilliants

adorning his cowl, and six or seven Russian orders upon his breast, singularly contrasted with his modest dress, and rather made of him an aide-de-camp of the Emperor. His Holiness (so he was termed by the Tsar himself) was the principal adviser of Nicholas on the Eastern Question, and became a centre of the Muscovite conspiracy against India. For this purpose he principally resided at St. Petersburg in the palace of Lazareff, a wealthy Armenian nobleman.

The object of the Russian court was to dissemble that the Armenian Church within its empire is perfectly independent, in order to make of it a centre for all Armenians living abroad, so far as to attract them and render them proper tools for its political intrigues. By these means also, the schism of the Patriarchs at Sis, and another in the island Aghtamar, on the lake Wan, both situated in Asiatic Turkey, were reduced to comparative insignificance.

We never heard of an official rupture between Edschmiazin and Rome; so far the Armenians seem to maintain a middle road between the Catholics and the Greeks. It is true that in Poland, in 1616, the Armenians with their Patriarch did recognise the Pope as the head of the Church, and that a monk, Mechitar, born in Asia Minor, gave the same example in 1676, and laid the foundation of a school at Rome for his countrymen. About 30,000 Catholic Armenians are reckoned to be at present in the Caucasus, and above 60,000 in

European Turkey, in Poland, Austria, and Italy. On the southern coasts of the Euphrates, not far from Diarbekir, only six Armenian villages are entirely united to the Russo-Greek Church. The Anglican Protestants made the trial in the same way, and their missionaries established for the purpose an Armenian school, at Schoucha; but upon the remonstrances of the Patriarch it was abandoned.

In short, there is a comparative concord in the bulk of these pious people, and its "universal" Patriarch at Edschmiazin exercises more unbounded influence upon their character, activity and union, than any of their former independent kings. It is the principal place of worship and pilgrimage, whither flock the Armenians from the banks of the Ganges and the Indus—from the coasts of the Euphrates, the Nile, the Volga, the Neva, the Danube, Constantinople, Amsterdam, Paris, London, Calcutta, New York, Pekin, &c. At this point the pilgrims from those distant countries meet together, make acquaintances, interchange their intelligence and ideas, keep in union, cherish their hopes, and receive different orders and commissions from their spiritual chief. The sacred oil, for the use of the priests and the faithful, is to be got exclusively from this same spot, to maintain the unity of the Church.

Soon after the king of Armenia, Tiridates III., with all his subjects, in the year 303 of our era,

was converted to the Christian faith (a single example among the nations subject to the Roman empire), a church, with a monastery, was built at Edschmiazin in the year 309. Though many times reduced to ruins, it has been rebuilt, and the small village became the capital of the universal Patriarch, more known and respected among the Armenians, than Rome itself amongst the Catholics in general.

The character, aspirations, riches and settlements of the Armenians early attracted the speculative eye of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. In fact, modest, frugal and silent as they are, they consider themselves the first people in the world; and certainly their history is the most ancient, full of impressive, noble facts in point of religion, poetry, and philosophy.* They believe their country to have been twice the cradle of mankind. According to the popular tradition here, at the foot of Ararat was the Paradise, utterly buried after the first sin of our common parents; here also, after the deluge, the ark of Noah rested. Upon this territory, for a very long period, the Assyrians fought with the Medes, the Medes with the Persians, the Persians with the Greeks and Alexander the Great for the dominion of the world. Here, after the Crusades, the Armenians alone were the last Christian nation, who more or less

* Klaproth observes, that the Armenian chronicles began 2,107 years previous to, and finish in the year 1080, after the Christian era, which embrace 3,200 years of uninterrupted national records.

resisted and felt all the wrath of the victorious Mahometans. Here Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Bayazed and Batou, brandished their swords. Except perhaps the Jews, no people upon the face of the earth have been under so many dominions, and suffered so much. No people have so many martyrs, and manifested so much attachment to the religion of their forefathers. Their partial, more significant dispersion, began about four centuries ago, and proceeded on; but all these expatriated, or refugees, never ceased to have a common knot in their feelings for their Fatherland. They never forgot their language and manners, they never abjured Christianity, and were more united than ever around their national Church. In the course of time, the very dispersion of this inspired people wonderfully developed them, and yielded a characteristic lustre to their life of extraordinary importance. Only about three millions of the Armenians remain at home, and nearly five millions are settled abroad, or constantly circulate throughout the world.

A large portion of this nation is settled in almost all the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman empire, and especially in Anatolia, northern Syria, and Mesopotamia, in the territory of Persia, in the whole Aberbaïdjan, Irak, Ghilan, Masanderan, and about Ispahan; in a part of Great Armenia, now the province of Erivan, Georgia, and Sheervan, formerly under the Persian and now under the Russian

dominion; in Circassia, at Astrakhan, on the coast of the Don, in the Crimea, in Poland, in many European provinces of Turkey, as well as in the principal towns of Russia. In all these countries some of them live as merchants, but the vast majority are settled as labourers and artisans. Chiefly as merchants and wholesale speculators, they dispersed themselves in Italy, Austria, Moldavia, and some other parts of Europe. A host of them, commanding great capital, are settled in Egypt, at Bagdad, in the south of Persia, and further on in all mercantile towns on this side, and beyond the Ganges. Lastly, in the large emporiums of Toorkestan and China, with whom they carry on a more extensive commerce than any of the great European nations. In India, the Armenians, with the Hindoos, called Banians, and the Parsees, or the Guebres, possess nearly the monopoly of the interior commerce. For a long time also the Armenians and the Parsees used to undertake the greatest shipping speculations; but of course they now complain that this line of business is almost exclusively in the hands of the English.

Be it as it may, the Eastern travellers, observing the immense number of the Armenian caravans crossing everywhere, and such a quantity of their factories in the principal markets, agree in their opinion that the Asiatic trade in their hands is more than that of Europe in the hands of the Jews. In fact, for a long period, all the banking transactions

with Turkey, Persia, and China, were carried on in Europe exclusively by the medium of Armenian bankers. Wonderful to relate! and this is a nation, which, while founding such an extraordinary empire, for the protection of its commerce possessed no army and no navy, and which is not politically independent.

The Jews, dispersed entirely among different nations, and persecuted by them, through hard perseverance, material means, and *per fas et nefas* commerce, from servants, became in some way the masters of the active life, and the arbiters of all markets in many States. They have their religious tie, they lead Europe by the secret force of the immense capital they have collected: peace, war, or a revolution in Europe, greatly depends upon their financial operations. But the Jews have no material centre, no head of their religion, no country of their own. The destiny of the Armenians seems to be higher in reference to Asia, and more easily to be obtained: at least they believe so themselves. They possess a vast country, with a spiritual and visible centre; their faith, patience, industry, frugality, riches, and activity all over the world, are astonishing. With such resources they desire nothing so much as to civilise Asia, by peaceful means, to render it religious, moral, and humane. The treacherous policy of Russia contrives to use these lofty aspirations of this pious nation to her own ambition and criminal purposes.

The cultivation of the Armenian people is perhaps

not yet equal to the noble object they aim at. Still they are on the road of progress. Their literature is very active in its own way, from the 4th century till our days. Their first printing-house and their University were opened in the year 1616 at Lemberg (in Poland). Next, we find several of their printing-offices established elsewhere, viz. in 1624 at Milan, 1640 in Paris and Livorno, 1660 in Amsterdam, 1640 at Oschulfa (in Asia), 1670 at Marseilles, 1677 at Constantinople, 1680 at Leipzig, 1690 at Padua, and in a later period they were founded at Venice, Calcutta, and Madras. But at present their chief schools are in Russia, one founded by Lazareff at Moscow in 1815, and another at Tiflis, whilst the plan to establish an University for 2000 students at Edschmiazin, was lately in contemplation. In the above schools the pupils, besides the elementary sciences, are taught the Russian, French, German, English, Latin, and the Oriental languages. Some of them are sent afterwards to the German Universities. A certain number, who had successfully completed their studies, were recently employed in various missions to the East Indies.

I have already noted the mischief of favouring the Tsar's ambition at the expense of all his neighbours in our continent. As it was allowed in Europe, by its recent conquests also in Asia, the Russian influence has been spread throughout that part of the world so far, that in visiting its conquered

territories in Persia, for the sake of worship, even the Indian people learn to revere particularly the new master of them. One of these curious pilgrimages, in the province of Sheervan, is mentioned by Captain Keppel. He says: "On approaching the temple (at Bakoo), I immediately recognised, by the features of the pilgrims, that they were Hindoos, and not Persian fire-worshippers. .... I was much amused at the surprise they showed on hearing me converse in Hindostanee. ... While I was here, another Viragee came in ... his body was tattoed all over with the figure of Vishnoo. ... This man was once a Sepoy in the Indian army, and had been an orderly to a Colonel Howard, in the time of Lord Cornwallis. ... I was informed that *there is a constant succession of pilgrims, who come from different parts of India*, and relieve each other every two or three years in waiting on the holy flame. ... Of the pilgrims present five were Brahmins, seven Viragees, five Sunapeys, and two Yogees. *They spoke favourably of the Russians.*"*

However, we can never repeat too often, that the greatest benefit Russia ever acquired was by the acquisition of this most important part of Armenia. The people of that country, more enduring and patient than any, possess a singular skill and pliability

* See "Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England," by Capt. Keppel. London, 1827, p. 216-220, Vol. 2. In this visit to the temple of Bakoo, the author was accompanied by a Cossack.

of character, and outwardly adopt the manners, habits, and language of their masters, without forgetting their own. Thus, according to the country they live in, they seem to become Persians, Turks, Russians, Affghans, Chinese, Thibetans, Birmans, Japanese, &c. Considering their implicit obedience, fidelity and cleverness, they are preferred as high officers, bankers, agents, or servants, to any foreigners, in all the Asiatic courts, where really they toil for Russia, and for themselves. We quote a very remarkable example of this at the Court of Ava, related by an eye-witness. "The Armenians," says Captain Henry Yule, "have long frequented the Birman court and capital. At present there are about a dozen families, chiefly merchants in a small way. Some of them have always been noted as crafty mischief-makers and intriguers against England, and as depreciators of her power and motives. One of them, at the beginning of the late European war (he means the Crimean campaign), offered to go on a mission to Russia, but the King declined to enter into correspondence with a power at war with the English. It did not appear that there had been any one at Amarapoora during the war, who could be considered a Russian emissary, though the Armenians generally were violent partisans of Russia. There are generally one or two Armenians in the direct service of the Burmese government. Makertish, who escorted us from Maloon to the capital, is one of these. At present he holds the

government of the Maloon district, as well as the office of Kala-woon, or superintendant of western foreigners."*

Above all, the Armenians, being extremely frugal, can sell their goods cheaper than any of their competitors in the market. It is quite the reverse with the English merchants, who live well and make considerable expenses; and as they pay everything out of the profits of their trade, the consumers and producers must bear all these charges; they make their wares too dear to get many customers; the people buy less, and the manufacturers receive fewer commands. In this manner, the Armenians, by whom, as Colonel Chesney remarks, "even the Jews are in many instances driven out of the field of competition,"† fight and triumph on behalf of Russian policy and commerce against the English, and especially in Central Asia. Moreover, in order that some day they may fondly embrace the Muscovites, like their own countrymen, "coming to deliver them from slavery;" the Armenians teach these populations the Russian language,‡ and even

* "A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India (Lord Dalhousie) to the Court of Ava in 1855," by Capt. Henry Yule. London, 1858, 4to. See p. 141.

† "The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers of Euphrates and Tigris," by Lieut.-Colonel Chesney, 2 vols. 4to. London, 1850. See p. 99, Vol. 1.

‡ Not only in Asia, but in the centre of Europe, the Armenians propagate the Russian language. See "Gramatica Russa Armena." Venice, 1829.

equip them in the Russian fashion. This last circumstance is but slightly alluded to in a letter of Sir W. H. Macnaghten to the Government of India, cited by Colonel Chesney,* where we read: "The Russian traders study so carefully the wants and tastes of the people, with whom they traffic, that the natives of Kaboul are seen wearing portions of dress got up and sewn for their use at Orenburg."

In general all the Armenians at home and abroad trumpet the glory, and promote the commerce and political plans of Russia in Europe and Asia. They have survived so many violent oppressors of their country, that they are sure to survive politically their present chief-dominators, Turkey and Persia, who are on the eve of dissolution, and at the mercy of their Northern neighbour. Shortly to sum up the whole question, without taking into account her numerous express agents, her artificial renown, conquests, and the weight of territorial pressure, Russia, merely through the Armenian merchants, exercises a greater influence to the confines of Asia, than through her diplomacy to the confines of Europe; and she is constantly plotting in the principalities of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, more freely than at Naples, Madrid and Lisbon.

It is not my office to estimate the importance of the discovery I now unveil to the British public,

* See the chapter: "Successful Competition of Russia with British Enterprise in Central Asia," in the above-cited work of Col. Chesney, p. 569 et seq. Vol. 2.

and which has escaped the penetration of the English and foreign travellers in the East. But I presume no one will contest that, had the above facts and their natural deductions been known in time, Lord Cathcart and Sir Gore Ouseley would not have backed Russia in the conclusion of the treaty of Goolistan; the British Ministry would never have pressed the Court of Teheran to give up the most valuable part of Armenia to Russia in the treaty of Turcomanchai; and lastly, during the war in the Crimea, the Trans-Caucasian campaign would not have been so sadly neglected; it would most likely have become the centre of the hottest action and have furnished an efficacious assistance to the independence of Circassia.

However, I feel it my duty to give warning—that this fragment of intelligence about the Russian intrigues in the East, may prompt the Government of this country to take severe measures against the Armenians, which I earnestly fear, would, instead of averting, aggravate the danger. I am therefore collecting costly materials, inaccessible to Western politicians, for a full disclosure of the Muscovite schemes in the same quarter, together with a notice on the most practical means to prevent their realisation,—if the British public favourably receive my present communication.

THE END.

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